2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

found it difficult to get followers. Such recognized leaders always had guardian spirits which aided them in hunting, such as deer or antelope. The preparations for the trip, the time of starting and the destination were matters over which the leader exercised control.

Arrangements for the trip were usually made ten days or more before actually starting, for a ten day period of sweating was normally required of each hunter before departure. This ten day period was undoubtedly observed in its entirety only when the need for food was not pressing. Complete continence was required during the sweating period as well as throughout the trip. A hunter might sleep in the same lodge with his wife but never in the same bed. This restriction and the strict observance of the sweating were particularly important for the leader of the expedition, no matter how great his power; otherwise the trip was sure to be a failure. (Indicating, of course, that the compliance of the other hunters was *not* so important, and not always compulsory. Moreover, Burke stated that sometimes after a few days of unsuccessful hunting on account of omitting the sweating period a hunter's guardian spirit appeared to him, reprimanded him for his carelessness, but nevertheless brought him success on the following day.)

During the preliminary period the hunter went to his sweat lodge each morning upon arising and again in the evening. While sweating he called upon the lodge to bring him success and to keep him from accident. The songs he sang were the usual sweat house songs.[1] The object of the sweating was practical as well as ceremonial. The hunter realized that the deer would be able to scent him much more easily if he failed to cleanse himself.

A hunter was careful not to boast or predict success on the forthcoming trip for the animals were able to hear what was said about them and they would not appear to anyone who had boasted.

Preparations immediately preceding departure on the trip included inspection and repair of snowshoes, moccasins, and the preparation of the packs. Very little food was taken on hunting trips. The members of the party relied upon game which they expected to catch to furnish sustenance. When food was taken dried salmon was usually selected because it was light in weight and highly nourishing. The bulk of a hunting pack consisted of robes for bedding and mats for the hut which was to furnish shelter.

Women regularly accompanied the hunters on trips lasting longer than a single day. They assisted in packing the burdens, made camp, cooked the food and kept the fires burning, and helped to a certain extent with the hunting, as noted below. Usually a hunting party consisted of about half as many women as men. Those women who accompanied the hunters did so of their own choice. Besides the hunters' wives, old women often went along, carrying food which they would exchange for venison. The men did not occupy separate huts from the women at the camping place, but associated with them no more than was necessary.

Hunting parties usually departed at daylight, everything having been made ready the night before. Often the destination could then be reached by evening,

[1] See page 179.

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533
832

wa'i' kwɪnxami'nk' ali·'
I love you because

ksui'nomt'x^{u} wumi'x^{u}
You are pretty surely

ku·tlxu'pltx^{u} i·'s pu'u's.
Win my heart.

When a young man desired to marry a certain girl he often attempted to impress her and her parents by feats of valor, athletic prowess, or by leading a successful hunting expedition. Burke related the following anecdote: 539 584 832

A certain beautiful girl was the object of many men's affections but she was not interested in any of them. One winter morning one of the young men mounted his black horse, rode it out onto the ice at the edge of the river, reached the edge and dived in with his horse. The two of them swam under the floating ice all the way across and came up on the opposite shore. Then he came back to camp. All of the people had seen what he had done. The girl was among them. The young man rode up to her and held out his hand. She took it, jumped on the horse with him and rode off. No one objected. They were married.

Supernatural assistance was sometimes solicited by one attempting to gain the affections of another. This practice was more or less restricted to persons (of either sex) who were seeking a second mate. "Young people were not supposed to know such things." The procedure follows: The heart of a pigeon was dried, pulverized and mixed together with the tip of a branch of yellow pine, also dried and pulverized. Then once just at sunset and again at sunrise on the following day the individual went to the river and bathed. Following each bath the mixture was rubbed on the cheeks, eyebrows, in a band across the forehead and on the shoulders. Some was mixed with water in the mouth and blown over the arms. Following this a prayer was uttered: "pəta'x̣, (the concoction) I want your help. I want to marry this person (the name was given). You can help me do it. You can make her (him) think of me. I depend upon you." This method was considered infallible. The person named was overcome with longing for the one who had performed the rite. When the two met they immediately married. 587 832

Prayers for help in love were also addressed to the sweat lodge and to the bear, when one had been killed.[10]

It was mentioned above that unmarried girls were carefully watched. They were never permitted to go alone to pick berries or dig roots. An older woman was always present. Exposure, in the presence of men, of any part of the body normally covered by clothing, was carefully avoided. Women always rose before the men and went to bed after they did. This was done to eliminate the possibility of a woman's clothing becoming disarranged while men were still about.[11] 834

A practice known as samamtu·'lɪx was related by Burke. When parents were determined that a girl should not have any illicit affairs or marry before complete maturity (about twenty-five, Burke thought) she was subjected to an ex-

[10] See pages 84, 179
[11] Cf. page 30.

2; Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish Sanpoil

tremely rigid program of supervision and concealment. Subsequent to puberty she was never allowed to leave the family house unless accompanied by an older woman, and only then when absolutely necessary. She was supposed to be seen by none but members of her own household, so for exercise she was permitted to go out only before daylight or after dark, always accompanied. During the day she was engaged in domestic pursuits such as cooking and basket making. Outdoor pursuits such as berry picking and root digging were unknown to her. When her parents felt that the proper time had arrived they arranged for her marriage and she terminated her seclusion. She was more respected, Burke said, and made a more desirable wife than a girl whose conduct had not been so circumscribed. 834

I was unable to obtain a native expression of the significance of this custom. Burke learned of it from his aunt; he had not seen it in practice. She had told him that it occurred "every once in a while." The actual concealment could hardly have been as rigidly carried out as the above account indicates. The amount of travel, the frequent change of residence and the amount of visiting indulged in by the Sanpoil would have rendered very difficult the carrying out to the letter of such a program. It is difficult to imagine what might have been the motives of the parents who carried out such a scheme. In a culture where class distinctions were marked one might expect the upper classes to protect their girls in such a manner for the sake of the family name, but where equality was emphasized to the degree that it was by the Sanpoil, such a motive could play no part in an acceptable explanation. Possibly an explanation which placed major emphasis upon the early sexual experiences of the individual's parents would come near the truth. The tabus surrounding the actions of an unmarried woman among the Wishram[13] should be considered in this connection. There a purely cultural explanation is probably adequate, but it must be noted that the application of the restrictions by the Wishram was universal, not limited to certain woman only.

MARRIAGE

Boys usually married at about eighteen years of age, sometimes younger. Girls married at various ages between puberty and twenty. Marriages between persons of considerably different ages were not uncommon. 582

Infant betrothals (sntu'ɣsmtcut) occurred rarely. Usually only persons holding places of prestige in the group troubled to make such arrangements. They ordinarily were negotiated by the fathers of the persons concerned. The contracts amounted to little more than informal agreements between friends. The boy's father offered to give certain definite presents to the father of the girl, but these were not delivered until the marriage was consummated. In the meantime the agreement might be broken by either party if for any reason its continuation was not desirable. [584]

There were no restrictions as to the group from which a mate was to be selected. Marriage within the group was probably more common than marriage outside, but not preponderantly so. Outside marriages were not considered more

[13]Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, page 216.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
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The levirate and the sororate were both practiced, but neither was obligatory. Wives who were sisters were preferred in theory to those who were not, but John Tom knew of no actual example. When a man's wife died it became his right to wed any unmarried sister of his deceased spouse. If a sister subject to such a claim married another before the period of mourning (one to two years) during which remarriage was prohibited was over her husband had to answer to the brother-in-law who held the prior right. The latter might kill the best horses of the former, who would have no recourse. If retaliation were attempted the offender was apt to lose his life at the brother-in-law's hand. Any such act would have been condoned by the chief and the people. When a woman's husband died she became the wife of the oldest brother of the deceased if he wished to exercise his option. Often he did not. If he were already married or if the woman were unattractive to him he simply ignored her, or passed on his claim to one of his younger brothers, a cousin or a nephew. If a man had no brothers his wife, upon his death, was open to claim first by his cousins and then by his nephews both in order of age. Theoretically it was the right of the woman to receive as husband one of the above "but she had no way to enforce that right." (Burke) When all claims to a woman under the levirate were relinquished she was free to marry whom she pleased and her husband was not required to make any payment or present any gifts to the brother-in-law.

A wife whose husband had died was prohibited from marrying again during the period of mourning and until she had been given permission to do so by her husband's family. But, unlike violations under the sororate, both the man and the woman were subject to punishment if the canons were broken. Covington told of a woman who married an outsider a short time after her husband's death. The deceased man had no brothers, but revenge was taken by a cousin. He cut off her ears and killed two horses of her husband. Addressing the latter he said, "Now you can have her."

When asked what recourse a woman might have who objected to becoming the wife of her dead husband's brother, Burke answered, "None. If the man wanted her she would have to go with him. If he had to he would whip her and make her go." But I also got from him the following anecdote where such summary action was not taken.

There were two brothers. One was married but the other was not. The married brother died, and the other planned to take his widow as a wife. But she refused to have him because she didn't like him. For a year the brother kept asking her to become his wife, but she always refused. He often followed her into the woods in an attempt to get her. One time she was returning from berry picking. The brother found her tracks and followed her. When he caught sight of her he saw that she had folded the back of her dress up so that it would not become stained with the berry juice that ran from the basket. The juice was running down her legs. She heard the sound behind her and looked around. When she saw who it was she sat down and cried. She was very much ashamed. She said he could have her now.

Besides throwing light on the levirate this account shows the great emphasis that was placed on modesty.

DEER HUNTING

224

Deer were the most important game animals and after salmon the largest item of food preserved for winter use. They were taken at all seasons of the year; most in the fall and perhaps later in mid-winter. A variety of methods were employed: pre-eminently with bow and arrow, frequently with the aid of dogs and often in big drives, though never by stalking with the aid of animal disguises; spring traps and fences; nooses; and nets. It was always considered sport to hunt deer, and one or two, perhaps three men would go together whenever fresh meat was wanted and there seemed good chance of success. The simplest and most common procedure was to walk through the woods and flush the deer from their resting places. Perhaps a hunter would hide by a salt lick (ɬEcqōqane'ntEn) or drinking place. In recent years a pit might be dug there and covered with bushes, or a scaffold made in the trees.*1/ "They often spared the does and shot only the bucks."

The fall was the best season, for then one's vision was wider, the deer were fatter and had longer hair on their hides, and they herded together. The people now made camps in the hills and hunted intensively. A group of four or five boys might form a line across a small valley and advance towards its head, perhaps with dogs, shouting and waving their arms, scaring all the game before them. The hunters, twenty or so, would be in hiding at narrow places. Occasionally the deer were driven over a cliff, as near Loomis.

The Colville are reported to have set fire to the underbrush in the late fall to drive game through a defile where hunters were stationed as the Thompson did. This firing repeated over the same territory every three years would prevent the dead logs and underbrush from accumulating enough to permit a severe fire. Both Suszen and Old Harry declared this was not a device of the Sinkaietk.

224
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All such hunts were directed by a leader, who had special power to hunt deer. Generally he would announce his plans at the winter dance. He might get special favors such as all the kidneys of the deer killed by the group, not ostensibly as a reward or payment but because of a command of his power. The men were awakened early in the morning before a big hunt by a speaker (sūktakei'n) or caller, who was appointed by the chief to do this regularly. He prompted the men to bathe first and bring dried meat along with them. There was no tabu against sleeping with a woman the night before going on a hunt. [834].

224

Dogs were used mostly in the fall. The deer could not run very fast then, and they

*1/ [For footnote, see p. 19(A), category 116.-- Analyst]

252 rougher treatment than the bark baskets, even though these are lighter. The former might last ten years. The hot rocks were carried with green sticks — no tongs were known — and were blown on before being put into the water to make them clean.

FIRST FRUITS CEREMONY

222 796 First fruit ceremonies were held after the first big gathering of camas, service berries, and bitterroot."‡ The ceremony was called cqEpō'mnsinm. Most of the band would gather at the chief's house, where he would stand up and speak; perhaps other older men would too; and then the people would eat the newly harvested food. The chief might have asked a few able women to cook some of his supply, or food which had been taken by common work. This was then eaten at noon, the men being served first as usual. In later days they prayed (skūm) before the speech making. There was a special prayer for camas, said by about eight or ten women who were the first to go out digging, but usually only one ceremony was held for first roots, berries, and small game collectively. The night following there would be much sexual intercourse between husbands and their wives, but unmarried girls were supposedly closely guarded. At Kartaro more people gathered for this ceremony than the number which usually composed a winter village. [786 ●834]

222 796 The ceremony symbolizes the first time that the Indians learned to eat these foods (said Suszan). Probably the prayer is a recent feature, introduced by chief SūipEqē n after a dream."‡ His prayer was, "We are not the ones who made the berries and bitterroot grow. There must be another person in another world who makes the berries and bitterroot grow. And then after we get it, we eat it. You are not like birds, to just go over there and eat all you want. After somebody talks to you, then you can eat." This chief may also have introduced the idea of an "Other Person," the creator, in this rite.

171 222 796 In the northern part of the area, said David, there were no first fruits ceremonies other than those over salmon. This may be doubted because he also denied their existence elsewhere. Michel and Johnnie stated that the rite was practiced by both Sinkaietk and Northern Okanagon, but not by Colville.

FUR TAKING

224 Fur-bearing animals were taken in late fall and winter until the end of March (after which the hairs fell from the pelts). This activity was carried on mostly by outlying families remaining in the hills, or by men who left the camps for several weeks on end; one, two or three men together. All fur-bearing animals were caught in small dead-fall

‡ [For footnotes, see p. 32 (A), Category 116. -- Analyst]

DRUM DANCE

In recent times, a new pattern for trading, the summer drum dance (stk'iém) has been introduced to the Northern Okanagon, coming from the Thompson by way of the Similkameen. The Sinkaietk have never had a secular form of dance; their only dances being those in connection with power, which are danced only during the winter period, and the Dream dance. The Sinkaietk have never given a drum dance in their own territory, but they have participated in Northern Okanagon territory as guests. In many respects the Drum dance suggests the potlatch, and probably traces its origin to the Northwest Coast potlatch. 535 171 796 439

When a tribe wishes to give a Drum dance they collect many horses, blankets and food. Then they send a messenger, carrying tobacco and clad in good clothes, to invite another tribe to be guests. The messenger always arrives at the guest camp in the evening, presents the invitation and the tobacco to some wealthy or prominent man who divides the tobacco among his people. The messenger is then lifted from his horse to a spread blanket and is stripped naked by men and women. If he covers his penis with his hand the women slap his hand away. Then the women dress him in different clothes; they give him a new horse and saddle, thus replacing all of his possessions. Then he is presented with a return gift of tobacco of value equal to that received and sent home. 439 431 527 [834].

At the end of a month, which the guests are given for preparation, the messenger returns with gifts of blankets and tobacco. From this time on, a messenger arrives each evening that the guests are on the march, bringing food and gifts. Every messenger is re-outfitted and sent back. The host tribe beats a drum during the whole period of the guests' journey. The guests beat a drum and sing all during the march; young men and women dance at their camps on the way.

When the guests are in sight, and again when they are about one hundred yards distant, the hosts send two well-dressed men outfitted with new blankets and riding good horses to meet the guests. The latter form in a circle around the men and reoutfit them, while both sides are beating their drums.

The guests stay in a camp prepared by the hosts, provided with tents, blankets and necessities, facing the host's camp, with a street left between. Two headmen of the guests are lifted from their horses and led by the hosts over a long, wide roll of broadcloth to their tipis, followed by the whole guest tribe. Then the broadcloth is presented to the guests.

Trading is started immediately, accompanied by drumming and dancing. The guests settle themselves in camp, then they lead their trade horses out all equipped and saddled. The hosts, beating drums, meet the guests and take the horses away, returning 527 439

721 fight them, so the people from Kartar went
173 to skünqwünlep to camp with them. One of the
Kartar men went to see where the enemy was.
791 The enemy saw him and were going to shoot,
but he turned into a wolf. His name was
Ixwaski´nt. That night when they went to
sleep, Ixwaski´nt went over to the Spokan
camp and killed all but one. He told him,
"I will leave you, so you can go back and
tell the other people." This time, none of
the Konkonelp or Kartar people were killed,
because they never had a chance to fight.

Another time, Ixwaski´nt was chased by
the Blackfoot until he was so tired he could
not run any more. Then he jumped into a
creek and turned into a frog. When the enemy
came, all they could hear was a frog."

Tactics

721 There are no prayers for war. A shaman
with war power may sing all night and tell
791 what he had dreamed and what to do to win
the fight. There may be power contests in
advance of a fight between two warriors or
between two medicine men. There are no sex
[834] taboos before fighting, but there is some
feeling that sexual abstinence helps, however,
and that a man whose wife is menstruating is
not very fit to fight. The Sinkaietk had no
war dance, neither before nor after battle.
[727] The only strongly formalized pattern in con-
nection with war seems to be that of sending
one or two enemy warriors back to their own
people, as messengers, to carry the news of
their defeat at the hands of the Sinkaietk.
Equally important in their war tales is the
firm belief that in times of great danger it
is possible to assume the shape of one's pow-
er animal and thus escape.

714 Warriors in dressing for battle usually
paint their whole bodies with red clay and
[302] wear only a breechcloth. Only the best
fighters and war leaders wear their power em-
blems in battle, for the emblem of a man
721 killed in battle is always kept by his vic-
tor.

726 At the summer camps, while the women
are picking berries or the men fishing, the
chief appoints a guard or sentinel, who
watches from some high point for the ap-
proach of an enemy group. (So stated Cecile,
but Lucy Joe denied it.) At Okanogan in
Konkonelp territory, the lookout is always
stationed on the high tableland behind the
camp. Since attacks usually come after dark
it is his duty to keep awake to watch for
scouts sent out by enemy raiders. Sometimes
these sentinels fail their duty, fall asleep
and permit surprise attacks. In giving a
warning, these sentinels have no special in-
struments of alarm or signal calls; they
merely shout to the people, so that the wo-
men may hurry to shelter and the men gather
up their weapons. Sentinels are not formally
paid. but they receive a share in the pro-

21 Information from Cecile Brooks, Kartar.

583 betrothal died, some other member of the family might succeed to the vacated place. This was not demanded, no great sums having been laid out in advance.

583 If a girl past puberty was seen exposed
584 by a man, or if he touched her, he had to
● 834 marry her. Girls were very modest and had to be very careful, for should so much as their legs be seen, the only alternative was suicide. That is why the girls went swimming early in the morning, before the rest of the camp was about, and built their puberty sweat lodges far away from the site of the dwellings of the rest of the community. Sometimes boys by means of this custom forced girls to marry them who otherwise might have refused. They, too, got up early and even sneaked up to the sweat house.

[538] Attempts of this sort were favorite subjects of stories. In these the actors were usually a girl who had just reached puberty and her brother-in-law. These stories were often told of human rather than animal characters, as though they were occurrences of the immediate past.

Once a girl was going along picking berries. The juice was dripping so she pinned up her skirt that it might not be soiled. Her sister's husband saw her with her skirt tucked up, so she had to marry him. She carried home his bow and arrows, he her basket of berries, to announce they were married.

A girl was being pursued by her brother-in-law. She did not want him. When she was alone in the mountains he went hunting in the neighborhood, on the chance that he might see her undressed, so that she would have to marry him. While she was away swimming he hid in the little lodge she had built. When she entered in the proper cautious fashion, back and feet first, he grabbed her. She fainted, so that he had to restore her with the smoke of a certain aromatic fir. Then she had to marry him.

The situation must often have been an awkward one for the girl who for any reason was not willing to marry her brother-in-law, as frequently he was living in the same one-room house.

It should be noted that the significance attached to touching, etc. did not apply to a matron.

595 Marriage to the younger sister of one's wife was the accepted but not the necessary pattern for the acquisition of a second wife. A man might marry several unrelated women. In this case he usually set up separate households for each, and visited among them. That this occasioned unpleasantness is particularly evidenced by the case of Mary Carden, who was a third wife. She forced her husband to cease his attentions to the others on threat of leaving him.

16 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 281; Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 73-74.

p.114 (A)

When they had to buy this assistance, they could pay as much as a blanket or a beaded dress for a small bunch of the leaves. 842

Mary Carden had never heard of inserting anything in the vagina to prevent conception.

Girls commonly wore a broad band of buckskin between the legs as a protection against rape. This was attached by thongs to the belt fore and aft. 292 839

Abstention from intercourse before hunting and fishing was considered desirable. The purity thus acquired was to be intensified by the taking of numerous sweat baths. However, while men were away hunting, the conduct of the women left behind could not influence them. 783 834

Berdaches or transvestites were known. They were described as individuals who, though male, preferred woman's dress and occupations. "It was Coyote's fault that there were such people. He announced that there would be such when he left Cougar's house, where he had masqueraded as a woman." They were not considered particularly powerful, but on the other hand they were not frowned upon. People much given to joking might make such an one his butt. We could get no notion of the frequency of their occurrence. Most of the informants knew of at least one such case. We were also told of a Nez Percé man who, about sixty years ago, came among them dressed as a woman and attempted to ply the trade of prostitute at a communal gathering. He demanded payment first and fooled the men. The man was apparently sexless, since he could have intercourse with neither men nor women. 838 [773]

In the old days there were no prostitutes. There were some girls more interested in going about with men than in any other pursuit, but this activity was non-professional, and considered very shameful. Sometimes a father who had a daughter of this sort who would not reform, has been known to kill her because of her disgracing the family. 548 834

Women who were not interested in getting married, and liked to hunt, were not called by the same term as the berdaches. These were known to exist. In neither case was it considered by the community to be really a sexual disturbance. Women of this type were sometimes forced by their fathers to marry some satisfactory suitor. 838

At the present time there is a woman of a coast tribe on the reservation who cannot have intercourse with her husband unless she feels passionate; only when she is relaxed and about to sleep. There have apparently always been a few such women, for it was said "the men know how to handle them." (On non-menstruating women, see above.) 833

764 out of reach of marauding animals to await the thaw. Once it was properly buried it was never touched again, as interfering with a grave was believed to bring dire consequences, particularly bringing storms and cold. For this reason all burial places were avoided as much as possible."[1]

[769]

Children were buried by their own parents, but in other ways their burial corresponded with that of the adults. (Cecile said that there were no food tabus for the parents.) The parents were not forbidden to sleep together and might have another child during the period of mourning. A mother and child dying in childbirth were wrapped together, the child in the woman's arms.

[834]

766

The case of women who happened to die while gathering sunflower seeds was cited as a rare example of non-burial."[1] Her body was then considered a menace, and anyone rash enough to camp near the spot where it was left would be chased by her shoulder blade, which was her ghost.

764 Those who touched the corpse, and also those who had handled the deceased during his last illness, were required to wash their hands and faces in a water in which rose leaves had been dipped. This freed them from ghostly visitations, possible sickness, and from contamination which animals could sense and would avoid. Those who were related to the deceased took greater pains to remove this, and had to sweat bathe and scour themselves with fir boughs. After some time they drank the rose water and were then free.

765 Very close relatives, spouses, parents, children, and siblings mourned for a long time. They cut their hair to the level of their shoulders and left it unbraided. Beyond this there was no self-mutilation. The took frequent cold baths, and it they too sweat baths, about which there was some difference of attitude, used separate rather than the communal sweat houses. They drank the rose leaf water and rubbed their bodies with fir needles to keep from going blind and to avoid dreaming of the dead. They slept upon fir boughs, not blankets. These were changed daily, as contact with the mourner was said to turn them yellow. This was to be continued until such time as this phenomenon ceased to be noted. The period was longest for the widow, who had many tabus to observe during her mourning. She must use no paint, never changed her clothes from those she had worn at the time of the death, even when she was in the menstrual

[1] [For footnotes, see p. 128 (c), Category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 128 (A)